

**Post-War Peacebuilding**  
**SIS-419/619-014**  
**Spring 2011, Wednesdays, 5:30-8 pm**

Professor Charles T. Call  
IPCR Program  
School of International Service, American University

Email: [call@american.edu](mailto:call@american.edu)  
Tel: 202-885-1693  
Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:00-4:00 pm, by appt.

How do societies in conflict or emerging from violent conflict develop the state structures and social relationships not to revert to armed conflict? How can societies achieve not just stability but also sustainable peace and justice? What is the appropriate marker for “peacebuilding” for such societies? What, if any, positive role can external actors play?

This course addresses issues of building peace in war-torn societies. Although the course addresses a range of political, military, economic and social challenges, it focuses more on the intersection of these challenges with institutions of the state. (It does not emphasize the social level dialogic efforts to build peace, as do others of IPCR). After examining the importance of the question and the competing conceptual approaches to both “peacebuilding” and “state-building,” the course examines salient issues or challenges for peacebuilding. Students will choose topics about a particular case at the outset of the course to inform our discussions of the thematic challenges.

By the end of this course, you should know the main approaches to post-war peacebuilding; understand how these issues intersect with the state and state-building challenges; and be able to apply diverse perspectives in analyzing a concrete case.

In addition, this course should improve your analytic skills. You should emerge from the course a more critical and analytic reader of texts. Your capacity to write analytically and persuasively should also improve.

**Required Books Available at the Bookstore:**

- Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2004).
- Charles T. Call (ed) with V. Hawkins, *Building States to Build Peace* (Lynne Rienner, 2008).
- Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2010). (20% discnt from pub?)
- Available electronically: John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), at <http://catalog.wrlc.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=7857461>

## Course Requirements

- 20%: Question Analysis, Presentation and Lead Short Discussion
  - 10% Three-page question-analysis
  - 10% 7-minute class presentation
- 30% Two Reading Reviews (4 pages each, each 15% of overall grade, ONE handed in by our class on Mar. 3, before Spring Break)
- 40%: 20-page Research paper (Due 5 pm, Mon., Apr. 26) [Undergrads: 15-page paper]
- 10%: Class participation, Half of which is Group Presentation

**(10%) Three-page (single-spaced) Question-Analysis.** On one occasion of your choosing (but signed up on a schedule set on the second week of class), you will do the following:

- (a) Prepare three questions for the class and e-mail these questions to the entire class (including me) no later than Tuesday noon before class. I will provide at least one of these questions.
- (b) Write a 2-3 page (no more than 3 pages ever!) “Question-Analysis” of the 3 questions (single-spaced, 12-point font) handed to me at the start of class on the week’s readings. Try to answer each question in 2/3 of a page. Email these to me, but not to the class.
- (c) Attach an annotated bibliography (provide 4-5 sentences on each source) listing at least 3 additional sources for the topic (I can help with suggestions). At least two of these sources must be articles or books that are not solely web-based (a journal article you access via web is OK, but unpublished items like Wikipedia wouldn’t count).
- (d) You will be graded on
  - a. the “quality” (admittedly more subjective than some assignments) of your questions. I.e., to what extent do your questions provide insights into the readings? Help us rise above them and see the issues in a new light? Help us explore the implications of these readings?
  - b. The clarity of the writing; the effectiveness of the writing
  - c. Linkages to the readings, as well as to the course themes
  - d. The accuracy of the interpretation of the readings

**(10%) Seven-minute Question-Analysis Oral Presentation.** Prepare and present to class an oral presentation on that week’s readings, drawing on your three questions.

Guidelines for the Oral Presentation:

- The presentation should be 5-7 minutes long (maximum 7 mins.).
- It must not be read word-for-word, but presented from notes.
- It must address the three questions you posed.
- You may consider visual aids, such as a powerpoint presentation or a diagram. These should **aid**, not **impede**, your presentation.
- Since two students will present some days, check with the other student to make sure that your questions do not considerably overlap.
- You will be graded on
  - Accuracy of rendering the readings
  - Persuasiveness (that these are interesting, important and relevant questions)
  - Dynamism
  - Clarity
  - Connection with audience (eye contact, responsiveness to confusion, boredom)

**(30%) Two Reading Reviews (four pages double-spaced).** First one done on Weeks 2-7, by March 3, before Spring Break. **Each review will cover three of the authors (or all, if there are only one or two authors) assigned for a particular week.** Your review will be graded for its substantive points and for its clarity, persuasiveness and artfulness, as well as for being on time. The paper should be no more than 4 pages long, double-spaced (Times Roman, 12-pt font, normal margins).

**Each review should address these questions:**

Section #1. (Half page or so): What (briefly) is the MAIN argument or point each author is trying to make? What is his or her ultimate agenda?

Section #2. Who is most persuasive? (Could be none, one or two of them). Why is that article(s) the most persuasive? What about the others is not persuasive? All readings make omissions, but is there something crucial these authors have missed?

Section #3 (less than one page): What do these readings tell us about peacebuilding or statebuilding? How do they contribute (or not) to the big picture?

You should e-mail as an attachment in Word (format: Firstname Lastname Review.doc) to me ([call@american.edu](mailto:call@american.edu)) by 5 PM before the class in which the readings will be discussed. No late submissions accepted! After that, you'll need to review a subsequent week's readings. See my website for more specific guidance on writing critically, and I am happy to provide more guidance if needed.

**(40%) Research Paper on some aspect of post-war peacebuilding in one of select countries.** We will break into teams of 4-5 persons focusing on a particular country among the following: Haiti, Somalia, East Timor, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Guatemala, Bosnia, Kosovo, Angola, Mozambique, the DRC. You will each select a research paper topic related to that country. Your topic could be a particular sector or challenge (stabilization, police reform, justice reform, public finance, truth and reconciliation, human rights and its institutions, jobs and the economy, international planning and implementation of transitional development programs, gender issues, children's issues, integration of insurgents or of minorities, federalism & regional autonomy, governance, etc etc). I will urge you not to overlap with another student. It could also focus on the role of a specific actor, although I would wish to discuss that. The paper should be 20-23 pages long, double-spaced (no funny margins or fonts please). Number pages and put your name on the paper please!

You must conduct research outside of class sources for this paper, and it should be fully cited (footnotes not endnotes, course readings author/year/page only). There must be an ARGUMENT (and consideration of counterarguments) in this paper, with evidence deployed to support the argument. The topic must be approved by me by end of February. The research paper is due on Monday, April 26 at 5 pm (this is the week between class presentations).

**(5%) Group Project presentations, last two weeks of class.** In addition to your individual research papers, your country-group will collectively prepare and present a cohesive set of recommendations for international policymakers. Each country group will get 45 minutes to complete this presentation, and all students should have a component of the presentation. That presentation should NOT be a series of disjointed stand-alone presentations, but a cohesive set of recommendations that the group has agreed upon after meetings and discussions. I will devote 40 minutes of the final class to these discussions, but you will also need to meet outside of class to prepare. Your grade will reflect both your individual piece of the presentation and the collective output.

**(5%) Participation:** Attendance is mandatory, and class participation is important. If you wish assistance in enhancing your participation, please let me know. More than one absence or lack of participation in classroom discussions will be reflected in the grade.

**Readings:** Do all of the assigned readings. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to participate, and you won't get as much out of the discussion. Through Blackboard, the articles and some book chapters should be available electronically. Please read the articles in the order presented below, as I've arranged them with a certain logic in mind.

**(0%) Interviews with practitioners and presentation of results.**

In connection with your research, you will conduct one interview with a practitioner/policymaker in your chosen sector (no overlap with interviewees, please). If you can schedule interviews with practitioners working on your country, all the better (but not required). The interview should focus on a particular constituency: development agencies, diplomatic agencies, UN agencies, IFIs, military actors, NGOs/contractors, or national governments (beneficiary populations great!). There is no written or verbal component to this assignment, but you will lose a letter grades on participation if you fail to complete it.

---

**Late Paper Policy:** Out of fairness to others, I do not accept late assignments without penalty except in cases of genuine emergency.

\* **Question-Analysis** are due at the beginning of class for the day of those readings. If you are more than five minutes late, the paper will be downgraded by one-third a letter grade (eg, B to B-). Late Question-Analysis will be downgraded by a full letter grade per day after!

\* Late **Reading Reviews** and Research Papers will be downgraded *one-third a letter grade for the first three hours, and a full letter grade thereafter, up to 24 hours later, after which papers will not be accepted without more severe penalty.*

**Week 1 (Jan. 13) Introduction to the Course and to One Another**

**Video: “The Peacekeepers” (1.5 hours, part out of class)**

**Week 2 (Jan. 20) Framing Peacebuilding: Different Views of the Problem**

- Edward N. Luttwak, “Give War a Chance”, *Foreign Affairs*. 78, 4 (Jul/Aug 1999), pp. 36-44.
- Stephen Stedman, Chapter 1, “Introduction,” in Stedman, Cousens and Rothchild, Chapter 1, *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (pp 1-38).
- Charles T. Call, Article draft “Two Decades of Thinking about Peacebuilding” (30 pp)
- U.S. Department of State, *Leading through Civilian Power: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, Dec. 2010, Executive Summary (pp. i-xviii) AND Chap. 4, “Preventing and Responding to Crisis, Conflict and Instability,” pp 121-158.

**Week 3 (Feb. 2) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #1. Polity-Centered PB**

- Roland Paris, Introduction, Chapter 1 “The Origins of PB,” Chapter 2 “The Origins of PB,” Chapter 9 “The Limits of Wilsonianism: Understanding the Dangers,” and Chapter 10: “Toward more Effective Peacebuilding: Institutionalization before Liberalization,” in his *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. (2004).  
- **Chaps 1, 2, 9 & 10.**
- Oliver Richmond and Jason Franks, “Introduction: A Framework to Assess Liberal Peace Transitions,” from their *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding* (Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2009).

**ADDITIONAL READING FOR WEEK 3 (Feb. 2):**

- Read ANY Chapter of Case Studies from Roland Paris’ book.
- James D Fearon, “Governance and Civil War Onset,” Background Paper for WDR 2011, 71 pages.
- Also, go to the World Development Report 2011 website and check out the sources and data available.

**New Date!!!**

**FEBRUARY 9<sup>TH</sup> : NO CLASS, PROF. CALL AT OUT-OF-TOWN CONFERENCE**

**Week 4 (Feb. 16) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #2. Economy-Centered PB**

- Paul Collier, et al. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford Univ. Press. Chapter 3 (pp. 53-91).
- Human Security Report Project. *Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War*. Pre-publication. Chapter 2, pp. 24-41.
- Karen Ballentine, “Conclusions”, in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman (eds), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner and IPA, 2003), pp. 259-283.
- Lant Pritchett and Frauke de Weijer, “Fragile States: Stuck in a Capacity Trap?” Background draft paper for the WDR 2011, 46 pages.

**Week 5 (Feb. 23) Three Views of Peacebuilding – #3. Society-Centered PB**

- John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination* (180 pp.!) )

**Week 6 (Mar. 2) State-building and Its Critics**

- Max Weber, definition of the state, excerpted from *Politics as a Vocation* (1919).
- Pierre Englebert, Chapter on Weak States in Africa
- Fukuyama, *State-Building*, pp. ix-xi, 1-42, 92-122.
- Beatrice Pouligny, “Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peace Building: Ambiguities of New Programs Aimed at Building ‘New Societies,’” Paper delivered at conference organized by the Graduate Institute of International Studies on Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: How to Gain Sustainable Peace?, October 2004.

\*\*\*\*\* **March 7-11: Spring Break, No Class!** \*\*\*\*\*

**Week 7 (Mar. 16)      Fleshing Out the Challenges of State-building**

Chapters from the Call Volume:

- #1 Chuck Call, "Introduction"
- #2 Barnett Rubin, "The Politics of Security in Postconflict State-building"
- #6 Erik Jensen, "Justice and the Rule of Law" (Chapter 6)
- #7 Will Reno, "Bottom-up State-building?"
- #9 Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: Governance vs. State-building"
- #15 Chuck Call: "Building States to Build Peace?"

**Week 8 (Mar. 23)      The Local Level and the Problems of "Top-Down" Peacebuilding**

- Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2010).

**Week 9 (Mar. 30)      Tensions in Peacebuilding: Truth & Justice vs. Peace**

- Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston : Beacon Press, c1998). Chapters 1, 2 & 3 (pp. 1-51).
- Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War* (New York: Polity Press, 2002), Chapters 2 & 3.
- Video: "Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda"

**Week 10 (Apr. 6)      Debates over Democracy, Powersharing and State Legitimation**

- Katia Papagianni, "Participation and State Legitimation," in *Building States to Build Peace*
- Philip G. Roeder, "Power Dividing as an Alternative to Power Sharing," Chapter in Philip Roeder & Donald Rothchild, *Sustaining Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* (Cornell Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 51-82.
- Charles T. Call, "Making Peace Stick: Cases of non-Recurrent Civil Wars," Chapter 7 from *Why Peace Fails* (forthcoming book, 30 pp)).

**Week 11 (Apr. 13)      Crime, Citizen Security, DDR, & SSR**

- Gordon Peake, "What the Veterans Say: Unpacking DDR Programmes in Timor-Leste," report for the University of Bradford, July 2008.
- Charles T. Call, "Conclusions" in his *Constructing Justice and Security after War* (USIP Press, 2007).
- TBA
- Frontline Documentary Film: *Battle for Haiti* (1 hour):  
[http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/battle-for-haiti/?utm\\_campaign=homepage&utm\\_medium=bigimage&utm\\_source=bigimage](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/battle-for-haiti/?utm_campaign=homepage&utm_medium=bigimage&utm_source=bigimage)

**Week 12 (Apr. 20)      Group presentations**

**Week 13 (Apr. 27)      Group presentations and Conclusion**

## SOURCES OF SUPPORT

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements.

**Academic Support Center** (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

**Counseling Center** (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

**Disability Support Services** (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE

All students must adhere to the Academic Integrity Code (<http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>). As the code states, "By enrolling at American University and then each semester when registering for classes, students acknowledge their commitment to the Code. As members of the academic community, students must become familiar with their rights and their responsibilities. In each course, they are responsible for knowing the requirements and restrictions regarding research and writing, examinations of whatever kind, collaborative work, the use of study aids, the appropriateness of assistance, and other issues. Students are responsible for learning the conventions of documentation and acknowledgment of sources. American University expects students to complete all examinations, tests, papers, creative projects, and assignments of any kind according to the highest ethical standards, as set forth either explicitly or implicitly in this Code or by the direction of instructors."

## EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.